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CIVILIZATION OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.

It is a fact well known, that the Mexicans, at the period of the invasion of their country by the Spaniards, possessed, in point of civilization, a vast superiority over all the other nations, with perhaps the exception of the Peruvians, that then inhabited the new world; but though all may be aware of this fact, yet few, perhaps, have bestowed on this branch of history, such minute attention as would enable them properly to appreciate the character of this singular people, and to form any definite idea of the degree of civilization to which they had attained. In the few hasty remarks which we shall make on this subject, we shall attend *first*, to the degree of political civilization to which they had attained, and *second*, to their moral refinement. The first of these, forms the subject of the present paper, the second is reserved for a subsequent occasion.

The evidences of the political civilization of the Mexicans, are collected from the population of their country; the number and extent of their cities; their government and laws; their police and internal regulations; their progress in the useful arts; their agriculture and commerce.

The discovery and invasion of the country of Mexico by the Spaniards, under Hernando Cortes, took place in the early part of the sixteenth century. The first thing that excited the surprise

of the Spaniards, was the population of the country and the greatness of its cities. To see a nation so far advanced beyond all the other inhabitants of the continent with whom they had been acquainted, and to observe marks of civilization in a country where they expected to see the earliest forms of savage life, created in them the utmost astonishment. The capital city of the empire was Mexico, which, exclusive of its suburbs, measured ten miles in circumference, and contained, according to the Spanish writers, sixty thousand houses; though Dr. Robertson thinks it did not contain more than that number of inhabitants. Besides this, there were many other cities, not greatly inferior in size and population, and an infinite number of villages and small towns. The large armies which they brought into the field against the Spaniards, is also a proof of their numerous population.

In the earliest stages of society, we know as well from history as from the instances which our own country affords, that mankind lead a wandering life, that their subsistence is derived from fishing and hunting, and that they have consequently no settled habitations. Such is the condition of the Tartars, and of some inhabitants of Asia; and such was the condition of the aborigines of this continent. Even after the numbers of a people have increased, and their necessities have made them acquainted, in some measure, with agriculture, it is still sometime before their imperfect knowledge will enable them to derive a sufficient produce from the cultivation of the earth, to subsist a large number of people in one place. Their necessities will, therefore, still compel them to live disunited, or to form but a few inconsiderable villages; and it is not until a nation has become many degrees removed from a state of savage life, that it can have large cities, and a dense population. These, then, are evidences of the civilization which prevailed among the Mexicans.

Such a large number of people could not live together without a regular system of government, and the administration of laws; these we shall now notice, as forming the next evidence of their refinement. In the early stages of the Mexican empire, the form of government was the feudal, which was at that time on the wane, but which had been the prevailing system of government throughout all Europe. Each noble was followed by his vassals, who owed allegiance to him alone; they paid him taxes, and he exercised over them a complete control. The nobles again were vassals to the king, who was the lord paramount. The feudal system

produced among the Mexicans the same state of things that it caused in Europe. It increased the power of the nobles to an inordinate pitch, and enfeebled the authority of the king. A succession of warlike princes, however, regained the authority of the crown, and finally succeeded in establishing a despotism, which was the form of government when the Spaniards invaded their country. The criminal laws of the Mexicans were extremely rigorous; our limits will not allow us to present a full notice, but we cannot forbear to enumerate a few of them, because they evince a remarkable love of justice, and a desire to promote the public good, as well as a high degree of political refinement. They punished with death, their judges who passed a sentence that was unjust, or contrary to the laws, or made an incorrect statement of any cause to the king, or superior magistrate, or who accepted of any bribe. Any person who altered the measures established in their markets, met with the same punishment. Guardians who wasted the estates of their wards, were punished capitally. Drunkenness in their youth, was punished with death. In men more advanced in life, though not capitally, it was still punished with severity. A nobleman who was guilty of this vice, was stripped of his dignity, and rendered infamous. In a plebeian it was punished by shaving him and demolishing his house. Their maxim was, that he who could voluntarily deprive himself of his senses, was unworthy of a habitation among men. This law did not extend to old men, who, on account of their age, were allowed to drink as much as they pleased. Their laws in relation to slavery, form a striking contrast to those of the Romans and Lacedemonians. The laws of the former, allowed the master full dominion, not only over the property, but also the life of his slave; they made no distinction between the wound given to a slave, and that given to a beast. The laws of the Lacedemonians were equally severe, and permitted no slave to have redress against those who injured him. But among the Mexicans, the slave was allowed the right to his goods, and a property in whatever he might acquire. He who killed a slave, incurred the same punishment as he who killed a free citizen. The labor exacted from their slaves was moderate, and their treatment of them humane; so that slavery among them was milder than in any other nation. When the master died, the slave generally became free. A singular feature in their laws, was, that all criminals were allowed to exculpate themselves by their own oath; this we might suppose, among a people who punished

every crime with the greatest rigor, would afford a strong temptation to commit perjury; but so high was their sense of the obligation of an oath, and such their dread of the punishment that would be inflicted on those who violated it, that they considered it morally impossible for any person to be guilty of this crime.

For the administration of justice, the Mexicans had various tribunals and judges. At the Court, and in each of the most considerable places in the kingdom, there was a supreme magistrate, whose authority was so great, that from his decisions there was no appeal. To him belonged the appointment of the inferior judges, and to him the receivers of the royal revenue in his districts rendered their accounts. The next inferior tribunal consisted of three judges. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal causes. They met together in a hall appropriated for them, where they were regularly attended by the officers of justice, listened to the litigants, examined into causes, and pronounced judgment according to the laws. If the cause was of a purely civil nature, there was no appeal from their decision; but if criminal, an appeal lay to the superior tribunal we have just mentioned. The sentence was pronounced by the public cryer, and executed by one of the judges. They had no advocates to conduct their causes, but each party made his own allegations. Besides these tribunals, there were some inferior ones, which were ancillary to them, and took notice of cases, and reported them to the superior tribunals. Thus much I have thought proper to say of the government and laws of the Mexicans, as furnishing the strongest evidence of their civilization. We here see a people living under a regular government, having a system of laws, evincing, in many instances, a degree of wisdom, a love of justice, and a desire to promote the public good, unsurpassed by the most civilized people. We see here a nation acknowledging the superiority of laws; we see the pre-eminence of civil over military power; a regular and wise gradation of tribunals for the administration of justice; and a vigilance displayed in the execution of the laws, which would have done credit to the boasted civilization of their merciless conquerors.

The police and internal regulations of the Mexicans, are the next things I shall speak of as evidences of their civilization. The method established for the transmission of intelligence, is worthy of notice. There were upon all the highways of the kingdom, little towers, about six miles distant from each other, where couriers were always stationed to carry dispatches. Whenever the first

courier had received any intelligence, he started off, and ran as swiftly as he could to the next stage, where he communicated it to the second courier, who carried it to the next little tower, and so on. These couriers were instructed in running from their youth, and so great was their swiftness, that according to the accounts of some writers, intelligence could be communicated to the distance of three hundred miles in one day. All their chief cities were regulated by a police. Persons were appointed to clean the streets, and keep them in repair; to light the cities by fires kindled at different points, and to patrol the streets at night as watchmen. These two circumstances are strong proofs of the improved state of the Mexicans, as they were refinements which were not known among the most civilized nations of Europe, at that period. For the convenience of merchants, and other travellers, they had public roads, which they repaired every year, after the rainy season. In mountains and uninhabited places, they had houses erected for travellers; they also had bridges and vessels for crossing rivers. These bridges were built either of stone or wood; those of stone were however very rare. The land among the Mexicans was all divided by appropriate boundaries, and the right of private property thoroughly understood, and acknowledged to its fullest extent. All these things afford strong evidence of a considerable degree of political civilization.

The next thing I shall notice is their knowledge of the arts. A progress in the arts is always considered as evidence of the refinement of a nation. In the early ages of society, these are few and simple, and do not extend beyond a knowledge of forming the instruments necessary for fishing and the chase; but as society advances, the wants of men increase, and ingenuity is exercised to find out the means of supplying them. Thus, new arts are introduced, and these continue to increase as society gradually advances. The art most used among the Mexicans, was that of painting. It was to them a very useful art, and they seem to have cultivated it more for utility than ornament. Being unacquainted with the invention of letters, it was only by paintings that they could record their history and laws, and perpetuate events. Their paintings were very numerous; some were images of their gods, kings, and heroes; some were historical, some mythological; others were codes of laws, civil and religious; while some were chronological or astronomical, representing their calendar, the position of the stars, changes of the moon, eclipses, &c. They had also geograph-

ical paintings, which showed the extent and boundaries of their possessions; the situation of places; the direction of the coasts, and the course of the rivers. Had these various paintings been preserved, we might have had a complete history of the Mexican empire; but, unfortunately, the most of them were destroyed by the bigotted zeal of the Spaniards, who could not distinguish these useful productions from records of idolatry. These paintings were made, some on cloth which they manufactured from the thread of the aloe, a species of the palm tree; some on skins, and others on paper. This paper was made from the leaves of the aloe, steeped like hemp, and afterwards washed, stretched, and smoothed; it was similar to our pasteboard, but softer and better for writing.

Their knowledge of light and shade, and of design, was very imperfect; but in some paintings of their kings, the proportions, it is said, were observed with great exactness. Such were the paintings of the Mexicans, and such the attempts made by them, to supply the want of letters, and perpetuate events. The study of these paintings formed a part of the education of their youth. They put the deeds of their ancestors into verse, and taught their children to sing them; and in this way, with the assistance of their paintings, they kept alive the memory of their great men, and transmitted from one generation to another, their mythology, their customs, and their laws.

Sculpture was another art exercised by the Mexicans. In this they had succeeded better than in painting. They expressed the images of their heroes, and the objects of nature, better in stone, wood, gold, and silver, than on paper. This was perhaps owing to the high esteem in which works of this kind were held, which encouraged the industry and excited the emulation of those skilled in them. The materials used in sculpture were usually stone and wood. They wrought the stone without iron, steel, or any other instrument than a chisel made of flint stone. It may here be remarked, that their ignorance of the useful metals, as iron and steel, must have presented a very great obstacle to their progress in many of the arts; the want of these was, however, in some measure supplied by a hard species of copper, which they possessed, and out of which they made axes, hatchets, and their instruments of war and agriculture. The works which they executed by casting of metals, were more esteemed among the Mexicans than their sculptures. Many of these works were sent to Europe, as presents from Cortes to the emperor Charles the Fifth, and other personages,

and filled with astonishment even the artisans of Europe. They made of gold and silver, perfect images of natural bodies. They could set gems in gold and silver, and their jewelry was esteemed of great value, even by the Spaniards. They were acquainted with the art of manufacturing copper, from which they made axes and pikes. Their founders and goldsmiths formed a respectable body in the nation, and in honor of their tutelary deity, held a great festival the second month of every year. These arts are powerful evidences of the refinement of the Mexicans. They are the arts of ornament and luxury, and cannot exist in a rude and barbarous nation. Greece was never at a higher state of refinement than at the period when she cultivated those arts to an extent which has rendered her the admiration of the world. They were not introduced among the Romans until a late period, and the productions of those arts were among the first objects on which her barbarous invaders vented their fury. The existence of these, also furnish us with an evidence, that the Mexicans must have been acquainted with the necessary arts. Those things which the gradual improvement of society renders necessary, will always be the first objects of invention; their attention will always be directed to those objects which tend to ameliorate their condition, and supply their wants, and it is not until these are attained, that they have leisure to employ their minds on works of curiosity and ornament. Architecture is an art, which, however rude its style may be, is always of anterior date to painting and sculpture, and if we had no other evidence, the fact that there were among the Mexicans, persons who made a living by the exclusive pursuit of these arts, would be enough to satisfy us that they had also a knowledge of architecture. In this, they had made such progress as appeared astonishing to the Spaniards The houses of the rich and the nobility were built of stone and lime. They consisted generally of two floors, had halls, court yards, and spacious chambers; the roofs were flat and terraced; the walls were so well polished and shining, that at a distance they had the appearance of silver, and gave a striking beauty to their cities. Many of the houses were crowned with battlements and turrets. They understood the building of arches and vaults; cornices, and many other ornaments of architecture, were used by them. In speaking of the royal palaces of Mexico, Cortes, in a letter to Charles V. says, "there are no equals to them in Spain." This, though in probability exaggerated, proves their progress in architecture to have been great. For the conve-

nience of the inhabitants, they had constructed many aqueducts. The capital was supplied with water by two of these, which conducted it a distance of two miles on a road raised through the lake; and when brought to the entrance of the city, it was conveyed by smaller channels, and distributed through different parts.

It would far exceed our limits, to enumerate the different productions of the arts used among this people; the number and spaciousness of their houses, and the aqueducts we have mentioned for watering their cities, display a nice attention to comfort, which is characteristic of none but a refined and cultivated nation. It may seem surprising to us of the present day, and evinces the indefatigable industry of this people, that without the assistance of animal labor, or the subservience of the natural agents, they could yet have erected such monuments of industry and skill. The manufacture of various kinds of cloth, was very common among the Mexicans, and was one of those arts which almost all understood. They had neither wool, hemp, nor silk; the want of wool was supplied by cotton; of silk, by the feathers of birds; and of hemp, by the palm. They wove cloths with different figures and colors. Of feathers interwoven with cotton, they made dresses, curtains, carpets, and other articles of clothing and ornament. Their potters made not only the necessary domestic utensils, but also other things of mere curiosity, which they embellished with various colors. They did not, however, it seems, understand the art of making glass.

We must here observe, as an evidence of the civilization and flourishing condition of the Mexican empire, that all these arts and trades were separate and distinct; they were not united in one individual, and exercised by him, from time to time, merely as his necessities might require. The painter, the sculptor, the jeweller, the mason, the carpenter, the weaver, and the potter, were each a distinct class of tradesmen. They were regularly instructed in their respective business; to it they devoted their exclusive attention, and from the exercise of it, derived the means of their subsistence. The separation of the arts, or the division of labor, is an evidence of refinement, because a nation must have advanced far beyond the bounds of savage society, before the arts become so numerous, or require such ingenuity in their production, as to make a regular course of instruction necessary to qualify individuals for the exercise of them, or before the demand for them can become so great, as to make them objects of exclusive pursuit.

Of the agriculture of the Mexicans, I shall next speak, as an evidence of their civilization. This is one of the first employments of man in the infancy of society, but a considerable progress must have been made in improvement, before even the cultivation of the earth is carried on to any great extent. Men must have adopted the social arts, and a peaceful mode of life, and left far behind them the rude forms of early society, before they can learn to view the cultivation of the earth, as affording the proper and permanent means of subsistence. Though some writers have considered their knowledge of agriculture as very imperfect, we are far from adopting that opinion. The facts that they were a large and populous nation; had great and growing cities; that they had no foreign commerce which could have supplied them with the necessary articles of consumption, and no intercourse with any people who could bear a comparison with them in point of civilization; and that consequently the articles of their subsistence must have been furnished from the bosom of their own empire, are sufficient to prove that their knowledge of agriculture was far from being imperfect. Cortes, in one of his letters to Charles the Fifth, mentioned that the number of inhabitants was so great, there was not a foot of land left uncultivated. Their fields were regularly enclosed with stone fences or hedges, and they scrupulously respected the right of private property. The principal articles of culture were maize, or Indian corn, cotton, cacao, or aloe, and pepper. The most useful of these was the aloe. It constituted the food of the poor. It was used in making hedges for their fields. The trunk of the tree served for beams for their houses, and the leaves for roofs. Out of its leaves they also made thread, needles, clothing, shoes and stockings; from the juices, they made wine, honey, sugar, and vinegar. They were also acquainted with its medicinal properties, and made use of it in many disorders. In their agriculture, as well as in every other branch of industry, every thing was effected by their personal labor, as they had no useful animals. The dominion over useful animals is considered by philosophers as forming an evidence of civilization, and the want of this may be considered by some as evidence of the imperfection of their agriculture, and their limited advancement in some other arts; but the first application of this argument is perfectly invalid, when we consider that they had no animals which could be used for labor. Those which we use, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, &c., are of European origin, and were unknown here until they were brought over

after the discovery of the continent. How, then, could the Mexicans domesticate animals which did not exist in the country? But we find that they had actually extended their dominion over all such animals as they possessed, which were capable of being domesticated: a species of animal similar to little dogs, turkeys, geese, ducks, and other kinds of fowls, were rendered perfectly tame. Neither can the want of animal labor be considered as an evidence of the imperfection of agriculture, where this can be supplied by the industry of man. The Mexicans furnish us with a striking evidence of how much human labor, alone and unassisted, is capable of effecting. When we consider that a large portion of the ground on which the city of Mexico was situated, was of artificial construction, and that they had formed little territories for cultivation, by constructing, on the lakes which surrounded their city, floating fields and gardens; when we look at their aqueducts for watering their cities, the spaciousness of their principal houses, and the immense materials used in their construction, we cannot avoid an expression of surprise at their indefatigable industry, and the effects it was capable of producing.

The commerce of the Mexicans is the last thing we propose to consider as evidence of their civilization, not so much on account of its extent, as of the order and regularity with which it was conducted. The commerce of this people was altogether internal, and derived from fishing, hunting, and the arts and manufactures which we have mentioned; each of which furnished its respective articles of commerce. The regularity and order with which this was carried on, is what chiefly demands our notice. Each city had its market or public fair, to which was carried all articles of trade. Every kind of merchandise had its particular place assigned to it; to one station was conveyed all articles of sculpture and jewelry; to another, manufactures of cotton, &c. To prevent fraudulent contracts and disputes among those who traded, there were commissioners appointed to traverse the market and observe every thing which took place; and also, a tribunal of commerce, consisting of twelve persons, to decide all contentions among the merchants, and take cognizance of all trespasses committed in the market place. These markets excited the admiration of the Spaniards, and few nations of Europe could at that time have displayed greater marks of political refinement. Their commerce was carried on by way of barter, and by real purchases. In their purchases, they used five things as substitutes for money—the first was a

species of the aloe, which was circulated as our money is; the second was certain small cloths of cotton; the third was gold dust put up in quills; the fourth, a piece of copper in form of a T; the fifth consisted of small pieces of tin. In their merchandise they used number and measure—we do not know that they used weights.

We have thus gone through with the plan which we proposed, of considering the civilization of the Mexicans, and I think we cannot but allow that they possessed a high degree of civilization. I do not confine the evidence of refinement to the possession of a single art, nor to a knowledge of the properties of a particular metal; and infer the want of it from the non-possession of the one, or the ignorance of the other. Montesquieu lays it down, that money is an evidence of polished society. He defines money to be a sign representing the value of merchandise; according, then, to his definition and ideas, the Mexicans were a refined people; for, as we have seen, they had no less than five signs to represent the value of their merchandise. The use of iron has been laid down by some as a criterion of civilization. We have no evidence that the Mexicans made use of iron, but we cannot from this circumstance draw a just inference that they were ignorant of its use, for perhaps they found that the copper which we mentioned, and out of which they formed their implements, served their purposes equally well. Would it not, however, be absurd to say, that a people who exhibited so many other marks of refinement, were barbarous, merely because they were ignorant of the use of a particular metal? It would also be equally absurd to make the same assertion, because they were ignorant of the art of writing. One nation may, at an early period, make the discovery of an art, which will remain a long time concealed from another, and yet both nations be equally refined. It might be a matter of curious speculation to inquire, how a nation situated like the Mexicans, who had no intercourse with any civilized people, could yet have attained such a degree of cultivation. But such an inquiry cannot be pursued in this article. Their peculiar situation may account for their ignorance of many of the arts, as a knowledge of these has generally been acquired in rude nations, by their contact with others who have preceded them in improvement; and we need not be surprised, that a people, when left to themselves, and unassisted by the discoveries of more enlightened nations, should be ignorant of some arts which appear to us so necessary and useful.

To conclude, I will not hesitate to assert, that in knowledge of the science of government, the Mexicans were not inferior to the Spaniards of the sixteenth century, and required but little more science, and the knowledge of the Christian religion, to make them equal in every point of view.

Such were the Mexicans, in exterminating whom, the Spaniards violated every principle of justice, disregarded every precept of the religion they professed, and clothed themselves with an everlasting infamy. They are now experiencing a day of severe, but righteous retribution for their conduct, the guilt of which, all the waters of Idumia cannot wash away. L. D.

AN ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF GENIUS.

IS GENIUS INNATE OR ACCIDENTAL?

It is among the philosophers of the present age that the question has arisen, whether the diversities to be met with in the minds of different individuals, be a property of the original constitution of the mind, and born with us; or whether they may not be occasioned by circumstances which give rise to those particular suggestions, mutually characterizing the ordinary conceptions of common minds, or that superior intelligence denominated genius?

That genius is innate, and has an existence independent of circumstances, will appear, to some, a proposition so very plain, as not to admit of controversy. It would have been considered by the disciples of the old school of philosophy, an absurdity in any one, to contend for the accidental production of genius; that it was dependent on the nature of our suggestions, as determined by external objects and circumstances. This opinion has, however, in the present enlightened age, ceased to be singular, if not already adopted as orthodox, by those writers who are now the most celebrated for their ingenuity and acuteness in analysing the principles and feelings of the human mind. But to those who have reflected only superficially on intellectual science, the hypothesis will, undoubtedly, appear extravagant and unsound. And since the writers on mental philosophy view it yet as a question of some complexity, involving nice distinctions, and therefore possessing

considerable interest, I propose here, to enter upon an examination of its merits, and to advance some arguments tending to establish the proposition—that genius is the result of circumstances operating upon our mental susceptibilities. A man of genius, in the common acceptation of the term, is defined to be '*one who possesses faculties superior to those of ordinary minds.*'

Taking this for granted, let us first direct our inquiries with a view to ascertain the true nature and import of what are usually called the faculties or powers of the mind. It will be generally conceded, that the affections of the mind, are primarily derived from external objects, through the organs of sensation—that these, alone, supply the materials on which all our knowledge is founded. Even the sublimest speculations of the greatest minds, are the emanations of original perceptions, variously combined and modified by the associating or suggesting principle.

Objects from without, first affect the mind, in a certain way, through the medium of our senses, inspiring us with various feelings and perceptions; and when any new object is subsequently presented to the organs of sensation, the remembrance of these affections, together with certain felt relations, enables the mind to compare, combine, and modify, in the manner peculiar to the nature of our different conceptions. One resemblance, or one relation, suggests another, and thus a train of suggestions is induced, linked together, and dependent on the nature of the original impression made upon the susceptibilities inherent in, and essentially constituting, the mind itself.

At least, this view of the phenomena of mind, is concurred in by the most correct thinkers of the present day; and so far as experience and observation can decide on a question of this nature, it can be sustained by facts and reasonings drawn from those sources. Independent of external things, then, I consider mind as only a susceptibility, without possessing any character of comparative excellence or superiority of any kind; but what may be its specific nature, apart from, and as never having had communion with, a material world, we can neither know nor conjecture, any more than we can know or conjecture the precise nature of its connection with the bodily organs. I readily admit, as indisputable, that there are certain constitutional and essential principles of thought, and certain powers or susceptibilities with which the mind has been originally imbued; but that there should be a constitu-

tional difference of these powers in different individuals, as originally formed, is a question which, I think, may well be disputed.

Small and insignificant, indeed, must be the catalogue of ideas which can characterize an infant in the first stages of its existence. It can, at most, be barely conscious of its inert being, until the objects around it, acting upon the organs of perception, furnish the mind with the elements of its future greatness, and enable it to compare, to discriminate and deduce; and is there not a general, though almost unconscious belief among mankind, that something can be done, to confer upon young minds acuteness and vigor of intellect, by a judicious and careful discipline?

We are all aware how much the continued exercise of vigilance will generate habits of attention, and contribute, therefore, under proper direction, to give to youthful minds, the essential attributes of comprehensiveness and ingenious acuteness of intellect.

Genius has been defined to be "an incessant curiosity, together with a prying observation." It has also been called, the exercise of an ever wakeful attention over passing events. And if this be true, is it too much to suppose, that among the improved methods of education now in progress, it is possible, that a system may ultimately be developed, which, in a great measure, may tend to confer genius on the rising generation, whose minds are ductile and unoccupied? This supposition, improbable as it is, is not more so than many others have appeared to be, and which have yet been realized in practice. Dr. Brown, in alluding to the force of circumstances, makes the following observations: "Since all the advantages of scientific and elegant education must, philosophically, be considered only as accidental circumstances, we have, in the splendid powers which these advantages of mere culture seem to evolve, as contrasted with the powers that lie dormant in the mass of mankind, a striking proof, how necessary the influence of circumstances is, for the development of those magnificent suggestions which give to genius its glory and its very name." And I would here observe, that the classification of the mental phenomena, as arranged by that illustrious individual, so much more lucid and satisfactory than that of his predecessors, promises to lead to the most important results in the future investigations of other philosophers.

Imperfect as every human production must be, I confess myself inadequate to detect any material errors in the general design, or the particular details, of Brown's treatise on mental philosophy.

I shall not hesitate to adopt his sentiments, as they occur to me, and are applicable to the subject.

But to resume the consideration of the question, I return to the definition, as adopted from common acceptation: "A man of genius is one possessing faculties superior to those of ordinary minds."

There is, in reality, no such thing as faculties of the mind, considered as distinct and separate powers of that substance. The word "*faculty*," is a metaphysical term, used like many others which are derived from objects of sense, and applied in elucidation of the phenomena of the mind, because "we have no metaphysical language by which we can express our notions of the operations of the mind;" and hence, like many other terms of the same kind, it has become the source of much error in our researches after truth. For as Dr. Brown observes, "*We give a name to some common quality of many substances, and we then suppose that there is in it something real, because we have given it a name, and strive to discover what that is in itself, which in itself has no existence.*" When we speak of perception, judgment, memory, imagination, &c., as faculties of the mind, (according to the fundamental principles of the systems now most popular,) we only intend to express the various forms of the association of ideas, or more properly, of simple suggestion; the mind is to be considered as one and indivisible, but existing in different states, as acted upon by the varying relations of our conceptions, and as successive to one another. The various classes of suggestions which arise in the mind, and which are determined by resemblance, contrast, contiguity, &c., constitute what are called its different faculties; and to illustrate this position, I will instance the faculty of *memory*, which is nothing more than conception, bearing a certain relation to time. It is a "particular suggestion, combined with the feeling of relation of priority." "The same resemblances, contrasts, contiguities, give rise to our conceptions of objects, whether we do or do not consider those objects in the relation of priority which they bear to our present feelings, or to any other event." After a long absence from your native home, when you return and see the spot where your youthful pastimes were spent, it suggests to you many of the scenes of your former life—the then seeming difficulties which you encountered, the sportive companions of your juvenile plays, together with their various tempers and dispositions—and the other faculties may be analysed in the same way, and resolved into the principles of simple suggestion.

Most, if not all of the faculties, are complex states of the mind; they cannot, therefore, be original and constitutional powers. They are the mind, existing in different states, as successive and relative to one another.

A new born infant, whose senses have scarcely led to the perception of any thing external, must, then, be destitute of nearly all the materials which constitute genius. It can possess no faculty which can be called memory, for memory is the conception of past scenes and feelings, as past; and what past scenes or feelings can a new born infant have had or witnessed, worthy the name? A similar inquiry might be instituted, should we enter into an analysis of the other faculties, with as little prospect of tracing genius to any ultimate original difference of mental susceptibilities. Dr. Brown, speaking of the specific nature of inventive genius, attributes it to "the differences of the prevailing tendency of suggestions, as arising from mere *analogy*, or as arising from direct contiguity or nearness in time or place of the very objects themselves." "Invention," he says, "consisting in the suggestions of *analogy*, as opposed to the suggestions of grosser contiguity." And he continues, "it is not, therefore, in consequence of any more copious store of images, that an original poet is enabled to group them in more beautiful variety, since the forms which he combines, are stored in the memory of all, and are common to him with the dullest versifier; nor is it from any superior tenacity of general memory, that they rise more readily to his imagination. They might rise to both minds, and they do rise to both minds, but they rise on different occasions, in consequence, merely, of the different directions of the suggesting principle."

"It is the same with inventive genius in the sciences and the severer arts, which does not depend on the mere knowledge of all the phenomena previously observed, or of all the applications of them that have been made to purposes of art, but chiefly on the peculiar tendency of the mind to suggest certain analogous ideas, in successions, different from the ordinary successions of grosser contiguity, which occur to common minds." "And it is this difference of the occasions of suggestion, not of the images suggested, which form the distinctive superiority of original genius."

If the foregoing data be correct, then the faculties of the mind can have no existence until at a period subsequent to birth—until external objects, with their diversity of relations, as it regards time and space, produce those different states of the mind which are

termed our conceptions, remembrances, judgment, imagination, &c. And however great the disparity of intellect found among individuals, (so great, indeed, that they sometimes appear, when contrasted together, almost like beings of a different order,) we shall not be warranted in referring the difference to original constitutionalities. They may be accounted for, by the accidental difference of circumstances in which mankind are placed, by the nature of our early impressions, as furnishing the mind with its peculiar suggestions. And, as the same author again observes, "we must not conceive that the brilliant wonders to which this tendency of suggestion gives birth, are to be referred, merely because they are brilliant and wonderful, to some power distinct from that simple suggestion to which they owe their being." "In the mind of inventive genius, conceptions follow each other, chiefly according to the relations of analogy, which are infinite, and admit, therefore, of constant novelty; while in the humbler mind, the prevailing tendencies of suggestion are those of former contiguity of objects in place or time, which are, of course, limited, and by their very nature, limited to conceptions that cannot confer, on the mind in which they arise, the honor of originality." In these remarks, may be said to consist the mystery of all the difference that "distinguish the conceptions of inventive genius from the humbler conceptions of common minds."

If we are attentive to the influence of circumstances, we shall find it very commanding and extensive in its effects, through the whole range of animal and vegetable nature. The fruit of the same tree, disseminated in a soil and climate very different from that of its parent stock, will exhibit wide varieties of produce. A difference of culture, also, will vary the qualities of vegetable productions. Our garden vegetables have all been reclaimed, by the hand of culture, from the wilderness; and their wild originals, in some instances, bear to them so remote a resemblance, that they can scarcely be distinguished as belonging to the same species. "The austere crab of our woods, has been converted into the golden pippin; and the numerous varieties of the plum, can boast no other parent than our native sloe."

"Of the nature of association on the moral character of man," observes Dr. Brown, "the whole history of our race, when we compare the vices and virtues of ages and nations with each other, is but one continued, though varied display. We speak of the prevailing manners and dispositions, not merely of savage and

civilized life in the extremes, but of progressive stages of barbarism and civilization, with terms of distinction almost as clear and definite, as when we speak of the changes which youth and age produce in the same individual. Not that we believe men, in those different stages of society, to be born with different natural propensities, which expand themselves into the diversities afterwards observed, but because there appears to us to be a sufficient source of all these diversities, in the circumstances in which man is placed." "The character and turn of thought which we attach, in imagination, to the Satrap of a Persian court, to a citizen of Athens, and to a rude inhabitant of ancient Sarmatia, are as distinct as the names which we affix to their countries."

What but a concurrence of favorable and accidental circumstances, raised the citizens of ancient Greece and Rome, to that proud eminence in learning and the arts, which has been the fruitful theme of so many poets and historians, and the wide field of inquiry for so many philosophers? The kindred associations, produced in the minds of the citizens, by the visible monuments of their glory, so profusely strewed around them, inspired their youths with those magnificent conceptions, the creative sources of genius, which have astonished the world in every succeeding age.

"The streets, the temples, the galleries, the porticos, all gave lessons to the citizens. Every where, the people recognised the images of its great men; and beneath the purest sky, in the most beautiful fields, amid groves and sacred forests, and the most brilliant festivals of a splendid religion; surrounded with a crowd of artists, and orators, and poets, who all painted, or modelled, or celebrated, or sang their compatriot heroes, marching, as it were, to the enchanting sounds of poetry and music, that were animated with the same spirit." "Victorious and free, they saw, and felt, and breathed nothing but the intoxication of glory and immortality." And what but circumstances, again overwhelmed the same people in ignorance and barbarism? Their heroes and sages have degenerated into itinerant minstrels and the improvisatori of ballad mongers.

In exhibiting the influence of outward circumstances on national character, it will appear that in those nations which have existed under a liberal form of government, where the condition of man has been free from the blighting influence of bigotry and despotism, by far the greatest number of distinguished geniuses and illustrious individuals, in every department of literature and science,

have been produced. But where intolerance and oppression have been exercised, although letters might be cultivated, and a meed of patronage conferred upon the learned; yet, genius has languished, and few, comparatively, have been found, who were eminent for originality of thought and design. Because it is essential to the development of genius, that man should feel conscious of his own importance, and be unshackled by the restraints of tyranny.

But we need not travel to distant climes, or turn over the pages of history, in order to manifest how forcibly outward circumstances will modify or fix the character of the mind. We have, unhappily, an instance at hand, in the system of servitude which has been cherished in the bosom of our own country, and although it may not admit of a remedy, or even of mitigation, it will, I am fearful, forever remain a blot upon the national escutcheon. The race of Africans domesticated among us, are characterized, generally, by their stupidity and obtuseness of intellectual discernment. Their degraded state and condition has so far subdued their original mental capabilities, and their native dignity as human beings, that it has been made a question, whether they belong to the same species with ourselves. But although rare, there have been examples of mental superiority enough among them, when placed under favorable circumstances, to redeem them from the reproach of being an inferior race.

If the foregoing observations be founded on just premises, we have, then, adequate reasons for the opinion, that the diversity of mental powers in mankind, is occasioned by the accidental circumstances in which they are placed, and by the incidents that occur to them subsequent to birth; and the opinion that the phenomena of genius are dependent on original and immutable differences of susceptibility, seems to be a gratuitous assumption, unwarranted by the facts and observations connected with the subject.

Our infant associations frequently give origin to the peculiar turn of thought and character of mind, for which we are afterwards distinguished. We are most prone to imitate our parents, and those around us, whom we look up to as patterns of excellence. Hence, members of the same family, bear to one another a general resemblance of manners and mental conceptions. "Prying curiosity," ardent desire and habits of intellectual activity, are the concomitants of genius. If infant minds give evidence of these, there will be in them the indications of genius. It is possible that these elements may be infused. Let the mind be awakened by the incite-

ment of sufficient motives, and it will appear, that a child who has previously been remarkable only for dulness and inanition, will frequently begin to manifest some acuteness and ingenuity of mind. And proceeding on the supposition, that the human family are gifted originally with equal capabilities of imbibing the conceptions of genius, we may account for the dulness of apprehension in the minds of so many, by supposing that it is occasioned, in the first instance, by "intellectual inertia." These original powers, or capabilities, have not been sufficiently evolved by exciting causes. The mind resting in sluggish inactivity, is unexercised in those distinctions and analogies of thought, which are the essential constituents of vigorous intellect.

The erroneous conceptions and confusion of images in the mind, have become so habitual and fixed, that no human efforts are equal to the task of producing new associations; the mind has become rigid and obstinate, and will not yield to other impressions, as in infancy, when ductile and inexperienced. The important bearing that this view of the subject is calculated to have on the science of education, is evident. If we can only conceive it to be possible, that genius may be generated, we shall direct all our energies to the development of that system which may inspire the minds of the rising generation with a kindred spirit.

I cannot dismiss this subject, without previously introducing some ingenious remarks which have lately been presented to me, in the writings of William Godwin, on the same interesting subject; and as they are somewhat copious, their merit must plead my apology for transcribing them. "All the events of the physical and intellectual world, happen in a train, take place in a certain order. The voluntary actions of men, are as the motives which instigate them. Give me all the motives that have excited another man, and all the external advantages he has had to boast, and I shall arrive at an excellence not inferior to his." "According to the notions formerly received, education was a lottery. The case would be parallel, if, when we went into battle in defence of our liberties and possessions, ninety-nine in a hundred of the enemy were musket proof." Speaking of incidents in early infancy, he observes: "If nothing occur to excite the mind, it will become torpid; if it be frequently and strongly excited, unless in a manner that, while it excites, engenders aversion to effort, it will become active, mobile, and turbulent. Hence, it follows, that an adequate cause for the phenomena of genius, may be found in the incidents

that occur to us subsequent to birth. Genius, it should seem, may be produced after this method; have we any sufficient reason to doubt of its being always thus produced?" After speaking of the case of genius breaking out at a late period in an unpromising subject, Mr. Godwin continues, "There seems to be a case more frequent than that of post-dated genius, though not so much remarked, and not dissimilar to it in its circumstances. This is the case of genius manifesting itself, and afterwards becoming extinct. There is one appearance of this kind that has not escaped notice; the degradation of powers of mind sometimes produced in a man for the remainder of his life, by severe indisposition. But the case is probably an affair of very usual occurrence. Examine the children of peasants. Nothing is more common than to find in them a promise of understanding, a quickness of observation, an ingenuousness of character, and a delicacy of tact, at the age of seven years, the very traces of which are obliterated at fourteen. The cares of the world fall upon them. They are enlisted at the crimping house of oppression. They are brutified by immoderate and unintermitted labor." "Genius requires great care in the training, and the most favorable circumstances to bring it to perfection. Why should it not be supposed that, where circumstances are eminently hostile, it will languish, sicken, and die?"

"There is only one remark to be added here, to guard against misapprehension. Genius, it seems to appear from the preceding speculations, is not born with us, but generated subsequent to birth. It by no means follows from hence, that it is the produce of education, or ever was the work of the preceptor. Thousands of impressions are made upon us, for one that is designedly produced. The child receives twenty ideas *per diem* perhaps from the preceptor; it is not impossible that he may have a million of perceptions in that period, with which the preceptor has no concern. We learn, it may be, a routine of barren lessons from our masters; a circumstance occurs, perhaps, in the intercourse of our companions, or in our commerce with nature, that makes its way directly to the heart, and becomes the fruitful parent of a thousand projects and contemplations." "One of the principal reasons why we are so apt to impute the intellectual differences of men to some cause operating prior to their birth, is, that we are so little acquainted with the history of the early years of men of talents. Slight circumstances at first determined their propensities to this or that pursuit. These circumstances are irrecoverably forgotten, and we

reason upon a supposition as if they never existed." "When the early life of a man of talents can be accurately traced, these circumstances generally present themselves to our observation. The private memoirs of Gibbon, the historian, have just been published. In them we are able to trace, with considerable accuracy, the progress of his mind. While he was at college, he became reconciled to the Roman Catholic faith. By this circumstance, he incurred his father's displeasure, who banished him to an obscure situation in Switzerland, where he was obliged to live upon a scanty provision, and was far removed from all the customary amusements of men of birth and fortune. If this train of circumstances had not taken place, would he ever have been the historian of the decline and fall of the Roman empire? Yet, how unusual were his attainments, in consequence of these events, in learning, in acuteness of research, and intuition of genius!" "Circumstances decide the pursuits in which we shall engage. These pursuits again generate the talents that discover themselves in our progress. We are accustomed to suppose something mysterious and supernatural in the case of men of genius. But, if we will dismiss the first astonishment of ignorance, and descend to the patience of investigation, we shall probably find that it falls within the ordinary and established course of human events." "If a man produce a work of uncommon talents, it is immediately supposed that he has been, through life, an extraordinary creature; that the stamp of divinity was upon him; that a circle of glory, invisible to profaner eyes, surrounded his head; and that every accent he breathed, contained an indication of his elevated destiny. It is no such thing.

"When a man writes a book of methodical investigation, he does not write because he understands the subject, but he understands the subject because he has written. He was an uninstructed tyro, exposed to a thousand foolish and miserable mistakes, when he began his work, compared with the degree of proficiency to which he has attained, when he has finished it."

"He who is now an eminent philosopher, or a sublime poet, was formerly neither the one nor the other. Many a man has been overtaken by a premature death, and left nothing behind him but compositions worthy of ridicule and contempt, who, if he had lived, would perhaps have risen to the highest literary eminence. If we could examine the school-exercises of men who have afterwards done honor to mankind, we should often find them inferior to those of their ordinary competitors. If we could dive into the port-folios

of their early youth, we should meet with abundant matter for laughter at their senseless incongruities, and for contemptuous astonishment."

There is no "divinity that hedges" the man of genius—there is no guardian spirit that accompanies him through life. If you tell me that you are one of those who are qualified to instruct and guide mankind, it may be that I admit it; but I may reasonably ask, "When did you become so, and how long has this been your character?"

"There is no man knows better than the man of talents, that he was a fool; for there is no man that finds, in the records of his memory, such astonishing disparities to contrast with each other. He can recollect up to what period he was jejune, and up to what period he was dull. He can call to mind the innumerable errors of speculation he has committed, that would almost disgrace an idiot. His life divides itself, in his conception, into distinct periods, and he has said to himself, ten times in its course, from such a time I began to live; the mass of what went before, was too poor to be recollected with complacency. In reality, each of these stages was an improvement upon that which went before; and it is perhaps only at the last of them that he became, what the ignorant vulgar supposed he was from the moment of his birth."

If the foregoing observations should prove attractive enough to excite any inquiry, the object of the writer will be sufficiently accomplished. The science of mental philosophy, although more truly interesting and important than almost any other, yet receives comparatively but little attention from the generality of readers. How much its greater simplification by late writers, will contribute to make it popular, is a consideration which ought to recommend it to all who are, in any way, concerned in the dissemination of knowledge. It is a study which bears an important relation to politics, as well as morals. It is calculated to make a man wiser, better and happier. I. O.

Boonville.

HISTORY OF ST. LOUIS.

[The following article was prepared for the St. Louis Lyceum, by a young gentleman of that city, who has been so obliging as to give it to us for publication, at our earnest solicitation. Having been carefully compiled from authentic materials, we have no doubt of its accuracy.]

Spain, France, and England, in the seventeenth century, claimed, it is well known, the greater part of North America, by right of conquest, or of discoveries made under their patronage and direction. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, with regard to these three kingdoms, contained a provision for the restitution of the conquests which had been made from each other, but was wholly silent as to the boundaries of their possessions in America. In a country newly discovered, and but little known, it was natural that claims so extensive and undefined should clash, and that the claimants of territory should encroach on each other. Indeed, the subject of boundary, between France and England particularly, had from the first been unsettled, and the source of long and fruitless negotiation. France, besides owning Canada in the north, had, under the discoveries of de la Salle, settled the country on the Mississippi in the south. In 1753, she determined to connect her northern and southern possessions by a chain of posts along the lakes and the river Ohio. Fort du Quesne, now Pittsburgh, and Fort de Chartres, the ruins of which are yet to be seen on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, were links of that chain of military out-posts. Such a proceeding, if effected, threatened to be highly detrimental to the interests of the English, by giving them a frontier of great extent to defend against the Indians and French, in the event of war, and by confining them to the narrow borders of the Atlantic. It was consequently resisted, and the protracted war ensued, in which our Washington first displayed his military skill. From America, the war was transferred to Europe, waged without intermission for seven years, and only ended with the treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762, which was ratified by the treaty of Paris, of the year following. By this treaty, England acquired all the country *east* of the Mississippi, which, after the adoption of the constitution, was ceded by Virginia to the United States, under the name of the North-western Territory. By a secret article in that treaty, also, all the country *west* of the Mississippi, called Louisiana, was ceded to France by Spain. In 1800, it was retro-

ceded to France, and by her, in the same year, sold to the United States, for fifteen millions of dollars.

Spain did not take possession of her newly acquired territory until 1769, when Count O'Reilly, invested with extraordinary powers, and at the head of a considerable body of troops, landed at New-Orleans, took possession of the country in the name of his Catholic Majesty, abolished the existing form of government, and established a new one, conformable to the laws of Spain. Until this change was effected, however, French laws remained in force in the province, and the officers of the French government continued to exercise their functions as if no change had taken place. In fact, the subjects of the French monarch were not aware that they had passed under a foreign domination. The mild administration of his government had endeared it to them, and it was probably owing to this fact, that Spain delayed taking possession, and that when she assumed the reins, it was thought prudent to clothe her representatives with military power, for the purpose of awing the disaffected into submission.

"In the year 1762, Mr. Dabadie, being Director General and "military and civil Governor of the Province of Louisiana, granted "to a company under the name of Laclede Ligueste, Maxan and "Company, the necessary powers to trade with the Indians of the "Missouri, and those west of the Mississippi, above the Missouri, "as far as the river St. Peter." (*Deposition of Aug. Chouteau, on file in the office of the Recorder of land titles at St. Louis.*) The traffic in furs and peltry with these Indians, though of intrinsic value, was rendered unavailable, from the want of convenient stations near the mouth of the Missouri, to serve as places of deposit for the merchandise, which was the basis of the trade. This disadvantage, together with the difficulty and risk attendant upon the traffic, was felt by the French government in Louisiana, and disposed them to grant privileges and immunities to such as should engage in it. An exclusive charter, such as that above mentioned, could not but be beneficial both to the grantor and grantee. To the latter, it opened a mine of wealth, dangerous, certainly, in the exploration, but highly profitable, if managed with industry and prudence: to the former, the advantage consisted in this, that the trade would, in time, become a source of revenue; the navigation of the Mississippi would cause the settlement and improvement of the country bordering upon it; and, finally, each trading post, each place of deposit, would become a nucleus, round which, plan-

tations would be formed and villages arise. Such, indeed, was partly the result; for soon after the settlement of St. Louis, towns and villages sprung up throughout Upper Louisiana, and the interior assumed the lively appearance of civilization and industry.

"In consequence of the powers with which he was invested, Mr. "Laclede formed an expedition, at the head of which, he was "placed, and started from New-Orleans on the 3d of August, 1763. "On the 3d of November, in the same year, he arrived at Ste. "Genevieve, but finding no place suitable for the storage of his "goods, and being still too far from the Missouri, a proximity to "which, was an object with him, he proceeded on to Fort de "Chartres, which was still in possession of the French troops." (*Dep. of A. Chouteau.*) Thence he proceeded immediately towards the mouth of the Missouri river, in search of a spot suitable for an establishment of the kind he had in view. Having fixed upon a site, he returned to Fort de Chartres, from whence he started again in the beginning of the month of February, 1764, with the men whom he had brought with him from New-Orleans, a few from Ste. Genevieve, and some from the Fort. On his route, he passed through the town of Cahokia, engaging several families to go with him to the proposed establishment. On the fifteenth, they reached the place of destination, proceeded to cut down trees and draw the lines of a town, which was called, by *Mr. Laclede, the founder*, St. Louis, in honor of Louis XV., the reigning monarch of France.

In several sketches of the history of St. Louis, which have appeared in the public papers, the honor of having founded it, is awarded to Mr. Auguste Chouteau. These statements, uncontroverted as they have been, have caused the belief which generally prevails, that he was the founder. The writer risks something, no doubt, in opposing it, but the task which he has assumed, of presenting not only a history of this town, but a *correct* one, constrains him to do it. The evidence, at least, which opposes the popular belief, is so strong, as to vindicate the writer from the imputation of wishing to pluck from the brow of merit, the chaplet of honor; and the feelings of delicacy, which, under other circumstances, might be indulged, must now be laid aside.

The writer had frequently heard doubts suggested on this subject, but the question was not then of sufficient interest to him to prompt an inquiry. When he undertook, however, to prepare this paper, it became necessary to arrive, if possible, at the truth. With that view, he had recourse to several of the French inhabitants, in the

truth of whose statements, he knew the most implicit confidence could be placed. The persons thus applied to, are aged, the most of them having been born within ten or fifteen years after the foundation of the town. They knew nothing *personally*, but all concurred in saying that Mr. Laclede was the founder; that Mr. Chouteau, was a boy, when the town was founded; that thus they had always heard their fathers say. This tradition, though strong evidence, was still not sufficient. The writer called on a lady, who is said to have been the first woman that came to St. Louis, Mrs. L., though very aged, blind, and almost deprived of the use of her limbs, still retains the faculties of her mind, strong and unimpaired. Her recollection of the scenes through which she has passed, is perfect; in addition to which, she has that happy facility of manner and language, united with a spirit of politeness, which renders the communication of intelligence both striking and agreeable. The details which she gave, are so clear and connected, that it is impossible to doubt them. She was born in the year 1745; in the year 1763, being eighteen years old, she was married and living in Cahokia, when, in the month of November, as she believes, Mr. Laclede passed through that town, on his way towards the mouth of the Missouri, in search of a situation to form an establishment. In the month of February, in the following year, he again passed through the town, with the men he had brought from New-Orleans, with some from Fort de Chartres, and some from Ste. Genevieve; amongst these, was Auguste Chouteau, then a boy of about fifteen years of age. Mr. Laclede induced several persons to go from Cahokia, to his proposed establishment, and amongst others, her husband. She remained in Cahokia until the close of the month of May, when the Mississippi rising, overflowed the town, and inundated the floor of the house in which she lived; a Mr. Trotier, a resident of the town, offered her a refuge in his house, which she refused, on the ground that as she was compelled to go to *Pain Court*, (the name that St. Louis acquired at that time, from the scarcity of provisions, which were brought from Ste. Genevieve,) she might as well do it at once. Accordingly, she and her husband moved to St. Louis, in the beginning of June. There were then only two or three houses, or rather huts, in St. Louis, one of which belonged to Mr. Laclede. The men were employed in building for Mr. Laclede, the house in which Auguste Chouteau resided before his death; while she, and the greater part of the settlers, lived for a time on scaffolds, elevated six or seven feet

above the ground, to protect themselves from the wild beasts which abounded. Mr. Laclede gave lots of ground to the settlers, in admeasurement of which, Auguste Chouteau generally carried the chain for him.

Another lady, Mrs. B., remarkable for her piety, intelligence, and amiable disposition, states that when about eleven or twelve years old, she came from Kaskaskia, where she then resided, on a visit to St. Louis. When she first knew Mr. Chouteau, he was a little boy, some three years older than herself. She was godmother to Mr. Chouteau's wife, and he on that account, also called her godmother; when she would reprove him for it, on the ground that it made her appear older than himself, he invariably stated the difference between their ages to be three years. Mrs. B. is now seventy-eight years old, which would make Mr. Chouteau, at the foundation of St. Louis, about fourteen years of age.

Two other persons, who were among the first settlers, have made statements similar to the above. Nor are they unsupported. In the Missouri Republican of the 24th February, 1829, we find an obituary notice of Mr. Auguste Chouteau, sanctioned, it is presumed, by his relatives, in which his age, at the time of his death, is stated to have been eighty years. St. Louis had then been founded sixty-five years; consequently, Auguste Chouteau was fifteen years old at the foundation of the city; a fact which, in our opinion, settles the question.

The spot thus selected, was covered with a growth of timber, which extended north and south along the margin of the Mississippi, and west as far as to the prairie. The selection was certainly a happy one. Immediately below the junction of two mighty rivers, and but little above the mouth of another, with a chain of water communication from the Atlantic almost to the Pacific ocean, it seems to have been formed by nature, for the site of a great and populous city, and to have been intended for the *depot* of the greater part of the western country. After its foundation, all that was necessary to bear it along in the career of importance, was enterprise and industry. Fortunately, when the country was transferred to the United States, the commercial advantages of St. Louis, the healthiness of its situation, and the fertility of the soil around and above, attracted to it numbers of energetic men, who have caused it to make rapid strides towards greatness. The immense superiority which its locality gives it, will always ensure it the monopoly of the commerce, and render it the mart of the mineral,

agricultural, and fur countries which lie above it on both sides of the Mississippi river.

"Seventeen months after the foundation of St. Louis, the Fort "de Chartres was evacuated by the French troops." (*Dep. of Aug. Chouteau.*) The ostensible cause was, that its situation was low, unhealthy, and subject to inundation. The real cause, no doubt, was, that the French, having by the treaty of Paris, ceded the country east of the Mississippi to the English, were obliged to abandon the military posts they possessed in that country. "On "the 17th of July, 1765, *M. de St. Ange de belle rive*, the com- "mander of the Fort de Chartres, together with officers and troops, "arrived at St. Louis, and assumed the reins of government." (*Dep. of Aug. Chouteau.*) Whether authority was delegated to him by the Director General, or whether it was a mere assumption of power on his part, cannot now be ascertained; certain it is, that his authority was submitted to by the inhabitants, and immediately after his arrival, St. Louis was considered the capital of Upper Louisiana. Having organized the government, he proceeded early in the spring to parcel out the lands to the settlers.

For this purpose, he called the inhabitants together, and told them that although Mr. Laclede had given them the *possession*, he had not given them *titles* to their lots, and that in order to obviate the disputes that might arise, they must report to him their boundaries, and he would make them *concessions*, by which they would be invested with the right. He accordingly made the *Livre Terrien*, or land book, in which the grants of lots and lands were, not *recorded*, but originally written, and copies of these grants were made out for the grantees. The people did not consider these concessions as incomplete or inchoate grants, which were to be ratified by some authority higher than that which made them; but as perfect grants, vesting in them the entire *allodium*, independent of any condition, save that of being subject to taxation, and of being improved by the grantee, within a limited time. In fact, the words of the concession, shew this to have been the meaning on the part of the granting party. The mode of obtaining grants, was by petition or *requête*. After referring to the petition, as to its date, the request it contained, the party making it, the concession generally ran thus: "On the day and year aforesaid, at the request of ——, we have granted, and do grant to him, his heirs, and assigns, the lot (or piece of land, describing its contents, boundaries, and locality,) which he prays for, with the condition that he shall establish it

within a year and a day, and that it shall be subject to the public charges." ST. ANGE."

Nearly the same form of concession was made use of under the Spanish authority. There was generally, however, a stipulation contained in them, that in case the conditions of improvement and cultivation, should not be complied with, the lands should revert to the king. And many instances are found in the *Livre Terrien*, where this resumption has taken place.

Commerce was the first object which the French government had in view in forming establishments in Upper Louisiana, but agriculture became necessary for their support; and subsequently, the populating and improving a large tract of country, became an object of paramount importance. These objects could not be effected without presenting advantages which might induce adventurers to come and settle in the country. Accordingly, the government adopted the plan of making gratuitous grants of land to actual settlers and cultivators. This was the plan upon which the first commandant, St. Ange, acted, and is the same pursued afterwards by Spain.

In the incipient stages of the two governments in Upper Louisiana, grants of land were proportioned to the means of the applicant, and always under the express condition of inhabitation or improvement; but towards their close, grants were made to all who chose to apply for them, without condition, to any extent, and of course, without regard to the means of the applicant.

The policy of the government in making gifts of land, was to settle the country. Pursued with a proper spirit, it was certainly well calculated to effect that object; but it seems, at last, to have degenerated into a system of favoritism, tending to enrich a few individuals, at the expense of the royal treasury. The remoteness of the Lieutenant Governors from the seat of the general government, and the extent of the authority placed in their hands, perhaps enabled them to disregard the checks which had been placed around them. Certain it is, that until the administration of Mr. Trudeau, the means of the cultivator were taken as the criterion by which the magnitude of a grant was to be regulated. Indeed, until that time, no surveyor was appointed for the province, which may account for the small number, and small size of the grants. The difficulty of locating a large tract of land; and settling its boundaries, may have deterred the inhabitants from applying for, and the Lieutenant Governor from granting them, and thus exceeding his

authority. But these obstacles, if they were such, were removed in 1795, by the appointment of a Surveyor General, whose duty it was to mark off, by metes and bounds, such lands as should be granted by the Lieutenant Governor. From this time, that office became a kind of mint for the manufacture of concessions. It is said, that a short time before the change of government from Spanish to American, grants were made out by the ream. This statement, though hyperbolical, is supported to some extent, by the fact, that until the appointment of Soulard as Surveyor General, the number of arpens of land granted, did not exceed 50,000; and that from the date of his appointment, the number of arpens granted, amounted to 2,150,969.

Concessions of the most valuable tracts of land, were thus made in a negligent manner, their boundaries not being defined with accuracy; and even now cover the face of the country, conflicting with each other, to the great perplexity of the courts of law, to the injury of the concessionaries themselves, and by retarding the march of improvement, to the disadvantage of the State. Many laws have been passed by Congress, for the purpose of settling these claims, but they have been ineffectual, or only partially beneficial. But as the powers of the Lieutenant Governors, and the principles upon which they acted, are now better understood, it is presumed that some plan will be adopted to secure the claimants in their rights, or to throw these lands open to the enterprise and industry of our citizens, by exposing them to sale.

Under the administration of St. Ange, St. Louis assumed more definitely the appearance of a town. The soldiers had, by degrees, become amalgamated with the inhabitants; comfortable dwellings were erected; and small fields in the neighborhood, now called *common fields*, had been opened and improved. The government was in a manner patriarchal; the whole community seemed to compose one family, under the guidance of a common father, and enjoying a common patrimony. Perhaps a sense of their weak, and somewhat perilous situation, tended to bring into existence and strengthen the bonds of amity and good feeling, and to maintain that order, harmony, and subordination, which it is so difficult to maintain in infant colonies.

On the 11th of August, 1768, three years after St. Ange established himself at St. Louis, Mr. Rious arrived with Spanish troops, and took possession of Upper Louisiana, in the name of his Catholic Majesty; but did not exercise any jurisdiction over the coun-

try, as appears from the fact that St. Ange continued to perform official acts until the beginning of 1770. (*Livre Terrien.*) From this it is to be inferred that the powers of Mr. Rious were limited to the bare taking possession of the country, and that no jurisdiction was to be exercised by him, until the dissatisfaction against the transfer had been worn away, and the inhabitants become reconciled to their new master. Their habits, manners, and customs, which they retained under the new government, and long after its extinction, being entirely French, they would naturally be averse to the change; and their remoteness from the source of power, imperatively required delicacy and prudence in such measures as might be adopted towards them.

The arrival of Count O'Reilly at New-Orleans, and the revolution that consequently occurred there, caused the evacuation of Upper Louisiana by the Spanish troops, and their departure for New-Orleans in July, 1769. The transfer having been completely effected, a new government organised, and a new code of laws established by Count O'Reilly, he directed his attention to the province of Upper Louisiana, of which, he appointed Pedro Peirnas Lieutenant Governor. This officer, under the Spanish government, was invested with extensive powers: he was military and civil commandant of the whole province over which he was delegated, having authority in whatever concerned the administration of justice, or the defence of the country; he appointed commandants of posts and towns within his jurisdiction, their acts being subject to his approval, and themselves removable at his pleasure; he had the power of making grants of lands, which grants, or *concessions*, as they were called, were to be confirmed by the governor general; and with the exception that his acts could be revised and he removed by the power that appointed him, he was invested with despotic sway.

On the 29th of November, 1770, Mr. Peirnas arrived at St. Louis, with a body of troops, and took possession of Upper Louisiana again; but he did not begin to exercise his functions as Lieutenant Governor, until the month of February following. (*Livre Terrien.*) The inhabitants soon became reconciled to the new dominion, for Spain adopted the prudent plan of tempering the mandates of government with parental mildness. Such measures, indeed, were necessary towards men who were placed on the verge of civilization, and with whom, harshness would have had no beneficial effect. It resulted in a firm attachment to the government, which

displayed itself in their regret and dissatisfaction at the retrocession to France, in 1800.

The liberality observed in the policy of granting land gratuitously to settlers, adopted by the French, and pursued by the Spanish, attracted considerable numbers of emigrants, particularly from Canada, and the advantages of the fur trade, drew many from the lower to the upper province of Louisiana. The population thus acquired, soon formed settlements in different parts. As early as 1767, Mr. Delor de Tregette, founded *Vide Poche*, which in 1796, took the name of *Carondelet*, in honor of Baron de Carondelet, who was then Governor General of Louisiana. *Florissant* was founded by Mr. Borozier Dunégant, in 1769, and in 1796, was called St. Ferdinand, in honor of the king of Spain; and *Les Petites Côtes*, called *St. Charles*, in 1804, was established by Blanchette Chasseur, in 1769.

Mr. Peirnas was succeeded by Francisco Cruzat in 1775, and the latter, by Fernando de Leyba, in July, 1778.

(To be continued.)

FROM THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

SPASMODIC CHOLERA.

(Continued from page 281.)

It is no doubt true, that either a hot or a humid atmosphere has been shown to be highly favorable to the propagation of Spasmodic Cholera; and it was for some time believed that a sufficient degree of cold and drought was capable of wholly extinguishing its malignant energies. But its appearance at Moscow in the very dead of winter disproves the one supposition; and its ravages in the thirsty deserts of Arabia, and the calcareous ridges of the Caucasus, repudiate the other. According to Mr. Annesley, the average height of the thermometer in India, from 1810 to 1815, was 83 deg. 8 min., while from 1815 to 1820, it was only 82 deg. 6 min. So that in place of the heat having been greater at the period of the cholera's commencement, it was less; and in after stages of its future course, the fall of the thermometer 30 degrees below the freezing point, proved incapable of arresting its progress. But if either a hot or a humid, a plus or minus electrical atmosphere, be the active agent

in generating this pestilence, it is strange that our armies have traversed the Indian Delta during all seasons and temperatures; yet until this scourge entered Lord Hastings' camp, it was almost, if not wholly unknown in its present form. The temperature of India was as high, and its atmosphere was as humid a hundred years ago, as they are at the present moment. There was as much sun and as much moisture then as there are now; yet both the natives and the Europeans could travel the whole Peninsula, from Bombay to Ganjem, and from Travancore to Delhi, with the most perfect impunity. Now, however, circumstances have wholly altered. Some towns and districts are seldom free from the disorder. It sweeps the entire country with as steady regularity as spring succeeds to winter, or harvest follows the summer season. It neither obeys the movements of the wind, nor confines its partiality to the dank regions of the air; but in opposition to wind and water, it pursues its own wayward and mysterious track, sowing death and desolation among the districts which it treads.

Others, therefore, convinced of the inaptitude of this view to account for all the phenomena in the history of this disease, have left the regions of the air, and penetrated the bowels of the earth, in quest of a happier hypothesis. Dr. Johnson says, "that no hypothesis, if such it be, is half so plausible as the terrestrial origin of epidemic influence, however that influence may be subsequently transported about, or modified by atmospheric constitutions;" while Mr. Annesley, afraid even to trust a conjecture so cautiously expressed, deemed it more prudent to incorporate it with the preceding theory of atmospheric influence; fancying that between the demon which rides the storm, and the pestilence which is originated by the earth, there will be less difficulty in solving all the problems connected with cholera. In his opinion, this disease is "essentially an affection of the nervous system," and he "considers the diminution of the nervous power to be the proximate effect of the efficient cause of the disease; that cause being the electrical condition of the air, arising from, or accompanied by, terrestrial exhalations of a kind unfavorable to animal life."

The advocates of this view are neither inconsiderable in number, nor unprepared with evidence. Calcutta, in India, and in Russia, Moscow have been the strong holds of this sect; and it has found numerous partizans in all the countries where the disease has been yet manifested. They appeal for proof to the partiality of the

disease for the banks of rivers, and the neighborhood of marshes; to its peculiar hostility towards the poor, the filthy, the naked, and the diseased; to its inveteracy in damp, low, and ill-ventilated localities; to its wayward partialities in the course it travels; to its violence during the heat of summer, when evaporation is most active; to its decline in the close of autumn, when the temperature begins to fall; to its extinguishment during winter, by the intensity of the cold; and to its re-appearance on the return of spring, when vegetable decomposition again begins to contaminate the air with noxious vapors. They contend, that it makes its appearance suddenly and contemporaneously in districts of the same country, similarly circumstanced as to soil and season; that its violence is in proportion to the salubrious or unwholesome character of the place it enters; that it cannot only be diluted in intensity, by lessening the exciting cause, but wholly banished from any locality, if by proper modes of purification, the earth can be prevented from pouring forth her poisonous influence; that it seldom, if ever, appears in districts where some source of morbid miasmata cannot be detected; and that there is no unequivocal and decided instance of its ever having travelled from one neighborhood to another, through the medium of human intercourse. When cholera prevailed at Tripoli, which is a very clean and well ventilated town, thirty-one only were taken ill, out of a population exceeding 15,000; of these, only five died, and the disease tarried but a few days; while at Antioch and Gesra, which are low and badly aired, it continued for a month, and committed frightful ravages. It is argued, that in Hindostan, where the population is much more dense than in the north of Europe, where less attention is paid to cleanliness and comfort, and where every physical and moral circumstance is favorable to the progress of epidemic influence, the numbers who were invaded by this pestilence were much superior to those whom it brought within its influence, either in Russia or Poland; and, not only so, but that the farther north the disease extended, the fewer were its victims. Thus, in Hindostan, out of 10,000 European military, 3,000 were attacked by cholera in the period of five years, and about 700, or from one-fourth to one-fifth died; and among 71,000 of native military, during the same period, 15,830 were attacked, and almost one-fourth perished; whereas, in Russia, not more than one-twentieth of the population of the infected provinces suffered. They assert, that the progress of this disease from one country to another, is more rapid than that of any known con-

tagion; that in less than one year, it traversed India; in less than two years it spread from the Persian Gulf, over a line of 400 leagues in length, to the shores of the Mediterranean; and that in six months it passed from the Caspian provinces, over the Caucasus, to the governments of Twer and Jaraslaw, a distance of 700 leagues from the point of its departure.

These, and other general arguments unnecessary to specify, are urged in behalf of the terrestrial origin of spasmodic cholera; and it will probably be admitted, that they are sufficiently strong to connect the history of this complaint to, at least, a certain extent, with pestilential influence emanating from the earth, but it has been questioned by many, and on grounds of no trifling weight, how far they who exclusively restrict their etiology to this single agent, are enabled to refer to that cause all the habitudes and movements, marches and countermarches, of this disease. These contend, that if cholera exclusively originated in pestiferous miasmata, it should be found only where such a poison is acknowledged to exist; whereas, say they, it has traversed countries, cities, and villages, which are geographically incompatible with the generation of such an influence to a degree sufficient to produce the effects ascribed to it. While it nestled among the jungly morasses of the Ganges, the Indus, and the Jumna, the Malarian might have rested secure in the sufficiency of his single view; but when it is found where there is neither *materiel* for decomposition, nor a decomposing agent, neither vegetable nor water, ordinary heat nor ordinary evaporation, marsh miasmata, argued the contagionists, cannot be taxed as the universal and exclusive cause of cholera. The arid sands of Arabia, the rocky ridges of the Caucasus, the nitrous steppes of Tartary, and the frozen summit of Mount Ararat, cannot be esteemed the birth-place of miasmal vapors. But admitting, say they, that the steppes of Tartary are not in this respect a whit more healthy than the banks of the Hoogly, what has hitherto prevented this noxious offspring of heat and moisture from working its specific effects upon the population within its reach? Were terrestrial effluvia the solitary cause of cholera, they contend, that it should have existed since time immemorial in India, in China, Ethiopia, Japan, and, in short, every country in which this agent exists; it should not attack town after town, and country after country, in tedious succession, but it should simultaneously appear in all the localities of its exciting cause; its partialities should be decided by the character of the soil and of the season, and not by

the extent of population and the degree of thoroughfare. The neighborhood of lakes and of marshes, of shady woods and succulent downs, should form the theatre of its operation, and not the centre of camps, the rear of armies, the heat of cities, and the haunts of merchandise. It has been said to delight in the banks of rivers and the borders of seas, and this marine habit has been urged as a proof of its terraqueous origin; but they contend that, by referring to the map of its travels, it will be seen that the only rivers which it frequents are such as form the grand channels of communication between different cities and countries, and that its selections of such portions of these rivers as it more especially infests, is not guided by their unwholesome nature, but by the degree of thoroughfare, to which they are subject. It is argued, that the doctrine of malarian influence leaves unexplained the numberless examples of coincidence between the arrival of the diseased amid a healthy population, and the subsequent appearance of the disease among such as had been previously exempt; as well as the escape of those who take the necessary precautions against its inroads, compared with the havoc it commits among the Hindoos and the Chinese, who regard all preventive measures as an impious interference with the destinies of the world.

For these and similar reasons, it is contended, that cholera is a contagious as well as an epidemic disease; and some of the facts which have been adduced in support of this position, it will be necessary to lay before our readers, that they may be enabled to form an opinion for themselves how far there is reason for upholding such a doctrine. Mr. Duncan states, that while the 34th regiment were on their route from Bellore to Bangalore, cholera appeared among them, and every intermediate town, through which they passed, betrayed symptoms of infection soon after their departure. According to Mr. Scott, a corps of troops, which had remained in good health during the siege of Chandia in spite of great fatigue, became ill on passing through Nagpore, which was diseased. Another detachment, which had quitted Nagpore, and which had lost several men upon its march, arrived at Jaulnah in the end of June, and the cholera appeared in Jaulnah on the 3d of July; a third detachment arrived in good health on the 4th of July, but left the town next day, and before they reached Hadrabad, the disease broke out among them. A company of English travellers, attended by a suite of 1,000 people, entered Jaulnah on the same day with the last detachment, and remained in it until the 6th, in apparently

good health. Before, however, they reached Aurungabad, cholera appeared, and it spread through Aurungabad shortly after their arrival. In 1818, a corps of troops, in excellent health, passed through Delhi while it was diseased. They became ill, but prosecuted their journey, and were afterwards joined by another detachment in good health, who were attacked soon after they joined the infected regiment. During November, of the same year, while a healthy detachment were passing the Jumnah, they became ill. Without using any precaution, they entered the camp at Teraut in this diseased state, and the entire camp were implicated. In 1819, a diseased regiment arrived at Trichinopoly which was perfectly healthy. The town soon became ill, the garrison were affected, and the disease spread into the neighborhood. The 15th regiment of native infantry, while laboring under the disease, was ordered for Gooty, and all the towns it traversed at that time, although in perfect health, were infected. "We were detained," says a writer in Annesley, "a fortnight in camp, between the Mount and Poonamalee, not being able to pay the detachment. During that time, as might be expected, almost all the men were drunk regularly every day, and we were prepared by such excesses, to suffer from any disease. We have, however, been particularly fortunate till our arrival at this station, not having lost a man, or having had one seriously ill, though we had been under canvass about five weeks. We fell in with a battalion of native infantry who were suffering from cholera. The next day, six Europeans were attacked; the number increased daily, and most of the first cases proved fatal." "It was the troop of Count Pahlen," says the Polish Circular, "which brought the cholera into Poland, and each contact with any body of the enemy is dangerous."

According to Mr. Coates, cholera appeared at Punderpoor, at the period of the great Jatra. The infected were knocked down as by lightning; 3,000 died in a few days, and the disease was carried into all parts of the surrounding country by the pilgrims returning to their homes. The king of Siam, finding his kingdom threatened by the disease in 1820, called his people together to the borders of the sea, for a religious solemnity. Seven thousand perished on the spot, and when the assembly broke up, the cholera was carried into the surrounding provinces. In 1825, the feast of Mahourroum was held at Benares; 6,000 perished at the time; the roads, as well as the Ganges, were covered with the dead; the inhabitants of Benares forsook their houses, and almost the entire

province of Bengal became involved. And what is accomplished by large masses of infected people, it is argued, has been with equal certainty effected by individuals. Dr. Taylor asserts, that the disease was first brought to Bombay by a man who came from the Deccan, and passed through Panwell, which was then infected. Dr. Jukes says, that it was taken into the island of Salsette, in 1818, by a detachment of troops who were sent there with an infected prisoner from Panwell. In the official report of St. Petersburgh, it is asserted, that the disease entered Moscow through a student who came from Saratoff, where the cholera raged. It has, indeed, been objected, that the first four cases which occurred in Moscow were closely inquired into, and it was found that neither they had themselves been in an infected place, nor had they held communication with those who were. Dr. Walker, however, one of the commissioners whom our government have sent out to Russia, reports, that this investigation was not made by medical men, but by the police, and that one of these four cases had come from Simbirsk, at that period laboring under the disease, only a few days before he took ill. The report of the medical board of Calcutta states, that a sepoy died with cholera in Lord Hastings' camp at Gourrockpore. Five of his comrades, who betrayed no symptoms of the disease, were employed to bury him. All were attacked during the following night, and all died. A Cossack, stationed at one of the military depots upon the banks of the Don, was sent to Douborska, on the Volga, and he brought back from thence, the disease to Katschalinskayer, from which it travelled down the river Don to the sea of Asof, into the Crimea. Mr. Duncan observes, that a native soldier, travelling from Bangalore to Nundidoog, passed through the camp of the 34th while it was infected; was attacked, took ill, and died after his arrival at Nundidoog. Dr. Meunier states, that at Bagdad, although a third of the inhabitants were attacked, none seemed to be affected, but such as approached the sick; and Dr. Reimann asserts, that "we have not a single instance of a town or of a village, which, without communication with houses or persons affected, has contracted the disorder." Dr. Burrell states that there were thirty attendants in the hospital at Seroor, and that almost all of them were attacked in the short space of six days.

"Every one of the native attendants in the Hospital of his Majesty's 65th native Regiment," says Mr. Craw, "and they are thirty in number, have been attacked with the disease."

Mr. Scott reports that very frequently the only European taken ill was the medical officer. Dr. Walker writes:—"One gentleman, who was the inspector of the hospital at Moscow, of which I have a copy of the printed statement as above mentioned, was at first a non-contagionist: but found himself forced to adopt the opposite opinion, because so many of the attendants at the hospital under his superintendence were attacked with the disease."

"From June, 1825, to June, 1826," says Dr. Kennedy, "that is, during the last twelve months, two surgeons, and two assistant-surgeons have died of cholera, on the Bombay Presidency. By referring to the Bombay Calendar for 1826, it appears that the grand total of gentlemen on the military, marine, and civil branches, including the officers of a regiment of Dragoons, and four regiments of infantry, of his Majesty's establishment, amount altogether to 1,543; of these, 116, only, are medical officers; that is to say, a fraction less than one-fourteenth; but so far from fifty-two casualties from Cholera having taken place in the other branches of the service during these twelve months, I do not think that number to have occurred during the whole period of the disease being epidemic, now eight years."

Dr. Labrousse informs us, that the prisoners in the jail of St. Denis, who were employed in the removal of the sick and dead bodies, all died in the discharge of this office: that at the lazaretto, two hospital servants alone escaped the contagion, and that in the hospital, the Cholera patients communicated the disease to the servants and other patients. And finally, Drs. Russel and Barry, our medical commissioners at St. Petersburgh, report, "that the number of medical men and hospital attendants attacked with Cholera during the present epidemic, in proportion to the whole employed, and to the other classes of society, has been beyond all comparison greater here than in India, under similar circumstances. Twenty-five medical men have been already seized, and nine have died out of two hundred and sixty-four. Four others have died at Cronstadt, out of a very small number residing in that fortress at the time the disease broke out there. Six attendants have been taken ill at a small temporary hospital behind the Aboucoff, since we wrote last. It is certain, however," they add, "that in some Cholera hospitals, favorably circumstanced as to size, ventilation, and space, very few of the attendants have suffered."

According to the Asiatic Journal, the Island of Sumatra was infected in 1819, by the trade which is carried on between Achem

and Malacca across the intervening strait. In the same way Cholera would appear to have reached Penang and Singapore during the October of the same year. The Medical Board of Ceylon reports that soon after the disease, in its course along the Coromandel coast in 1819, had reached Palamcottah, it made its appearance in Jaffna, in Ceylon, from which it was propagated through the whole island. The province of Jaffna faces Palamcottah, and holds with it constant intercourse. During winter the disease, as usual, disappeared, but in August, 1820, the Leander called at Trinquemalee, from Pondicherry, and landed several of her crew, who were laboring under cholera. The consequence was, according to the official Gazette of Madras, that Trinquemalee became immediately afterwards infected, and the island was scourged by a second pestilence. According to the official Gazette of the Mauritius, the Topaz frigate bound from Calcutta, called and anchored at the Mauritius, on the 29th of October, 1819. At this time, it is asserted, (but we are bound to say the statement is strongly contested) that the island was perfectly healthy; but seventeen of the ship's company had been taken ill on the passage, five had died, and the day after the captain threw anchor in Port Louis, he sent thirty of his invalids to the hospital of the 56th regiment, which was stationed on the island. On the 29th of November, the first fatal case occurred in that hospital; the disease spread rapidly through the town of Port Louis, and into the principal out-posts and towns throughout the island. M. Comble-holme estimates the mortality at 20,000. The Isle of Bourbon, finding that its neighbor, the Mauritius, had taken ill, established the most rigid system of quarantine. Two months elapsed without any appearance of the disease; but at the end of this period, a slave vessel stole privately into the port of St. Denis, where the cholera immediately appeared, and eight of the slaves were its first victims. This boat had left the Mauritius on the 7th of January, and on the 14th of the same month, cholera was seen for the first time in the town of St. Denis. The governor, notwithstanding, persevered in his protective plan; and, although it had proved unsuccessful in wholly exempting the island, it is stated to have limited the influence of the disease to the district which was first infected. Only 256 were taken ill, and out of these, no fewer than 178 died. Moreau de Jonnés asserts, that the cholera was brought to Muscat, in Arabia, by the English East-Indiamen; and Dr. Salimas reports that it was a vessel bound from India, which, in 1821,

carried this plague into the port of Bassorah, from which it spread from town to town, even to the coast of Syria. Almost every authority which we possess upon the point, declares that cholera reached Astracan by a brig which came from Baku, on the western shore of the Caspian sea. Baku was unhealthy when the brig sailed; she lost eight of her crew upon the voyage, and cholera first appeared in Astracan a day or two after her arrival in the Lazaretto to which the sick of the vessel had been brought. The following extract from the pen of Dr. Solomov is rather long, but it bears so strongly on the present subject, that we cannot refrain from laying it before our readers. Dr. Solomov is a staff-physician, settled in Astracan; his statements, like all other statements, must be taken as colored, necessarily, by his opinions. "After the 27th July, it attacked the suburbs, then the nearest villages, and then gradually extended over the whole government. After the 29th, it proceeded through the Cossac stations, and the town of Enotaevsk on the highway to Moscow, up the stream of the Volga; its extension in this direction evidently accompanying the fugitives from the places successively attacked. In the town of Enotaevsk it spread with the arrival of a sick boor; on the 29th, a barge arrived at Tchernojar, 150 miles up the Volga, with several rowers on board, who were ill of cholera. On the 8th of August, the disease began to prevail among the inhabitants, then passed across the river among the neighboring Kirghis, as well as upwards to the villages of Solodnikovsko and Vaisoka; in one of which, the first attacked was a military prisoner, who had been exposed to the disease. On the 25th of July, the epidemic also began in Kransnojar, situated on the northern mouth of the Volga, twenty miles from Astracan; and it first seized a private of invalids, and a girl of thirteen years of age, who had both recently come from that capital. While the disease prevailed in Astracan, some fishermen were there from Makovsky and Schitinsky, two places on the shore of the Caspian, where the Volga opens into it. These men, terrified at the progress of the epidemic, hastened home to place themselves, as they imagined, in security. But they had already imbibed the poison; some fell sick on the way, others after arriving at their homes; and the disease soon spread throughout the community to which they belonged." Thousands of those who were employed in navigating the Volga, made their escape from Astracan, as soon as the disease broke forth; in little more than a month, it had ascended as high as Nijni-Novogorod, and in all

the intermediate districts which it visited, its first victims were either navigators of the Volga, or individuals come from places where it had already raged.

When the disease visited Manilla, in 1820, the captains of the vessels which lay in the harbor forbade them all intercourse with the town: and in this way, it would appear, did they all escape. When the Mauritius became affected in 1819, M. Chamaret de Chozal shut up all his family, cut off all communication with the diseased, and thus remained exempt from its influence. M. Guys, the French consul, closed up his household in a similar way, within his garden at Tripoli; all the Europeans who were in the town, followed his example, and none of them were attacked. M. Keraudren observes "that in 1822, M. de Lesseps, the French consul at Aleppo, took refuge with all who chose to accompany him, in a garden at a small distance from the town, which was surrounded by a wall and a wide trench, and had only two doors by which it could be entered. His little colony amounted to, at least, two hundred individuals; every thing which was admitted to them from without underwent quarantine, and not a single case of disease occurred; while in eighteen days 4,000 perished in the town." Dr. Loder states, "that the authorities at Sarepta interdicted all intercourse with Astracan and Nijni-Novogorod, while they were infected, and Sarepta was preserved." It is narrated by Dr. Solomov, "that many gardens in the neighborhood of Astracan remained unaffected by discontinuing communication with the diseased; and that many villages in the Lordships of Simirnov, Beketov, and Prince Doloruki, escaped by the same precaution. A little set of villages at Caramala-Gubeewa threw a similar *cordon sanitaire* around their habitations, and escaped, while the disease was prowling throughout the neighborhood. The school of military cadets at Moscow was saved by cutting them off from all correspondence with the citizens; several German colonies in the government of Stratof, and a Moravian colony on the banks of the Volga, were similarly preserved.

Such are the principal facts upon which the contagionists ground the doctrine which they advocate, and the authorities which they advance to add influence to their evidence, are entitled to much attention. Drs. Scott and Stuart, the principal members of the Medical Board at Bombay, say, that cholera appears to them capable of being "transported from place to place, as in cases of ordinary contagion or infection; and also, to possess the power of

propagating itself by the same means that other contagions do." The physicians of the two divisions of the army at Bengal, deem it to be contagious; and from Jamieson's report it will be seen the Medical Board of Calcutta declares, that by the accumulation of men into one place, it may become contagious. Dr. Kennedy observes, "that to the best of my judgment, I know no character belonging to any contagious disease, which cholera does not appear to me to possess; and that, if it be not contagious, I know no other disease which I would be inclined to consider so." The Bombay Report states, "that we are enabled to trace the disease as if creeping along from village to village on that island (Salsette,) precisely in the same way; that is, by the arrival of people affected with the disease from places where it was known to prevail; and we are assured that there are some small villages on that island, which, from want of this sort of communication, or from some other cause, have, after a lapse of four months, hitherto escaped entirely." The Medical Board of Russia say, that it is "a contagion *sui generis*, less severe perhaps than the plague, and requiring a predisposition to make it effective. The Central Sanitary Commission in France advocate the same view; and the Superior Council which has been since erected, have confirmed their judgment. The Persian and Turkish governments have acted under the same conviction; all the continental powers which have seen reason to anticipate its approach, have unanimously advocated the necessity of quarantine; and our own government have thrown the weight of their authority into the contagionist's scale. The four Austrian physicians, who were sent out to Russia, have reported to their government, that it spreads by contagion; Drs. Walker, Barry, and Russell, whom we have commissioned to the same country, send us the same information; the French commissioners are unanimous in the same view; Drs. Makartienne, Martinengo, Meunier, Angelin, and Salinas, who have witnessed Cholera in different countries, are contagionists; Sir William Crichton and Dr. Loder, physicians to Nicholas, are strong advocates to this doctrine; the Russian General, Diebitsch, was so convinced of its contagious nature, that when Shezel, his physician, informed him of the nature of his disease, he ordered all in his presence, with the exception of the medical men, to leave the room; and the Polish General, Skrzynecki, is of the same opinion. Immediately after the battle of Iguinie, cholera was seen for the first time in the Polish army. The medical officers were immediately set to work, and by great

exertions succeeded in extinguishing it; but the battle of Ostrolenka brought them again in contact with the Russians, the disease again appeared, and from that fatal victory to the present hour, Poland has had more to contend against than either the bloody violence of barbarous despots, or the shameful and unpardonable apathy of avowed friends. Our ambassador, lord Heytesbury, at the Russian court, hesitates not to pronounce this disease contagious. Nicholas himself evinced his belief in it by abandoning Petersburgh, and taking refuge at Peterdoff: and, finally, all the French consuls, Lesseps, Guys, Reynaud, and Gamba, are grounded in the same faith.

In this detail of the evidence brought forward by the advocates of terraqueous miasmata and of contagious influence, we have studiously abstained from expressing any opinion upon a subject that every one, who reflects upon the facts and statements which have been here collated, may be equally competent with ourselves to decide upon. The profession, as well as the public at large, are sadly divided upon the contagiousness of cholera. Even those who have witnessed it in different countries, and at all periods, who have traced its progress upon the field of its operations, have studied its character in different stages and constitutions, and have had the very amplest opportunities of drawing truth from the fountain, are opposed in sentiment; and, therefore, to whatever side our private opinion may be disposed to lean, both the settlement of this controversy and the cause of science, may be more judiciously consulted, by leaving the question, for the present, to the unbiassed discretion of the reader's judgment. Should this malignant pestilence ever land upon our shores, and give us a personal opportunity of confirming, or of modifying the views which we entertain, it will then be our duty to lay the result before the public: but if the evidence now before them cannot lead to some conclusion, in virtue of its own merits, no deduction drawn by us could in any measure fill up the deficiency.

(To be continued.)

[SELECTED.]

JOHN KEPLER.

"JOHN KEPLER was born at Wiel, in Wirtemberg, in 1571. He was educated for the church, and discharged even some of the clerical functions. But his devotion to science withdrew him from the study of theology. Having received mathematical instruction from the celebrated Mæstlinus, he had made such progress in the science, that he was invited in 1594 to fill the mathematical chair of Gratz in Styria. Endowed with a fertile imagination, his mind was ever intent on subtle and ingenious speculations. In the year 1596, he published his peculiar views in a work on the Harmonies and Analogies of Nature. In this singular production he attempts to solve what he calls the great cosmographical mystery of the admirable proportion of the planetary orbits; and by means of the six regular geometrical solids, he endeavors to explain a reason why there are six planets, and why the dimensions of their orbits, and the time of their periodical revolutions were such as Copernicus had found them. * * * A copy of this work was presented by its author to Tycho Brahe, who had been too long versed in the severe realities of observation, to attach any value to such wild theories. He advised his young friend 'first to lay a solid foundation for his views by actual observation, and then, by ascending from these, to strive to reach the cause of things;' and there is reason to think, that by the aid of the whole Baconian philosophy, thus compressed by anticipation into a single sentence, he abandoned, for a while, his visionary inquiries.

"In the year 1588, Kepler suffered persecution for his religious principles, and was compelled to quit Gratz; but though he was recalled by the states of Styria, he felt his situation insecure, and accepted of a pressing invitation from Tycho, to settle at Prague, and assist him in his calculations. Having arrived in Bohemia in 1600, he was introduced by his friends to the Emperor Rodolph, from whom he ever afterwards received the kindest attention. On the death of Tycho, in 1601, he was appointed mathematician to the Emperor, a situation in which he was continued during the successive reigns of Matthias and Ferdinand; but what was of more importance to science, he was put in possession of the valuable collection of Tycho's observations. * * * *

"Although our author was conducted to these great laws by the patient examination of well established facts, his imagination was ever hurrying him among the wilds of conjecture. Convjnced that the mean distances of the planets from the sun, bore to one another some mysterious relation, he not only compared them with the regular geometrical solids, but also with the intervals of musical tones; an idea which the ancient Pythagoreans had suggested, and which had been adopted by Archimedes himself. All these comparisons were fruitless; and Kepler was about to abandon an inquiry of about seventeen years duration, when, on the 8th of March, 1618, he conceived the idea of comparing the powers of the different numbers which express the planetary distances, in place of the numbers themselves. He compared the squares and the cubes of the distances with the same powers of the periodic times; nay, he tried even the squares of the times with the cubes of the distances; but his hurry and impatience led him into an error of calculation, and he rejected this law as having no existence in nature! On the 15th May, his mind again reverted to the same notion, and upon making the calculations anew and free from error, he discovered the great law, that the squares of the periodic times of any two planets, are to one another, as the cubes of their distances from the sun. Enchanted with this unexpected result, he could scarcely trust his calculations; and to use his own language, he at first believed that he was dreaming, and had taken for granted the very truth of which he was in search. This brilliant discovery was published in 1619, in his 'Harmony of the World,' a work dedicated to James VI. of Scotland. Thus were established what have been called the three laws of Kepler,—the motion of the planets in elliptical orbits,—the proportionality between the areas described, and their times of description,—and the relations between the squares of the periodic times, and the cubes of the distances. * * * * * * * * *

"The misery in which Kepler lived, forms a painful contrast with the services which he performed to science. The pension on which he subsisted, was always in arrear, and, though the three Emperors, whose reigns he adorned, directed their ministers to be more punctual in its payment, the disobedience of their commands was a source of continued vexation to Kepler. When he retired to Sagan, in Silesia, to spend in retirement the remainder of his days, his pecuniary difficulties became still more harassing. Necessity at last compelled him to apply personally for the arrears which

were due; and he accordingly set out in 1630 for Ratisbon; but in consequence of the great fatigue, which so long a journey on horseback produced, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off on the 30th November, 1630, in the fifty-ninth year of his age." p. 114—28.

[For the Illinois Monthly Magazine.]

LINES WRITTEN UPON THE OPENING OF THE ST. LOUIS BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN LYCEUM.

Sacred to Truth, to Science, and to Taste!
Thou'lt call thy sons to nobly search the wide,
The teeming store, which fills the western waste,
O'er which, as yet, Cimmerean glooms preside!
Student and Sage thy rising fondly hail,
As shipwreck'd mariner, the hope-enkindling sail.

Hail, friend of Genius! from thy fostering care
Shall burst, perchance, full many a brilliant gem
Of taste, of fancy, and of beauty rare,
To flash, the *first*, in some fair diadem;
But which had glowed unhonored and unseen,
Hadst thou not delved into its rich, but secret vein.

Union of all most strange! in thee are met
Ungenial elements, and undefined,
On each of which, one mighty seal is set,
One general impulse—linking mind to mind;
Forming the whole, a regular design;
Incongruous atoms here in harmony combine!

Thus, from the quarry's rough, unchisel'd block,
Some western Phidias may perfection draw;
Thus, *thy* Laveille, in heaps of shapeless rock,
Detects and brings to light each classic law,
And statues robed in godlike beauty stand,
Or rich and graceful temples rise throughout the land!

Blessing and bless'd!—in bonds of union bound,
Thus may'st thou rise in conscious merit bright;
And in thy pale, perchance, shall yet be found,
Some daring Genius who will wing his flight,
With tireless pinion, up the dazzling height,
Whence Fame casts far and wide its never dying light.

Hail, generous compact! useful league and fair!
Thine, too, the task, with elevating power,
To throw a charm, than other charms more dear,
On each gay circle of the social hour;
To gild its converse with the rays of mind,
And form a general taste, pure, lofty, and refined!

St. Louis. MOINA.